

Prestige issues bog UNO while world faces famine

No. 505 February 15, 1946 2d.

HOW terrifying it is that when the disaster of universal famine threatens the world, the attention of UNO should have been focussed wholly on issues of political prestige Russia throwing her totalitarian weight about before a parliament of nations would

have been an incongruous spectacle at the best. Against a background of acute, widespread and increasing human misery, it is depressing. Can the "hard-

TEN MILLION EXPULSIONS POSSIBLE FROM POLAND

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, LORD JOWITT, GAVE THE LORDS SOME FIGURES FOR THE DEPORTATIONS FROM EASTERN EUROPE, WHEN HE REPLIED TO A DISCUSSION INITIATED BY THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER ON 14 N 30

The Control Plan, he said, provided for 3½ millions from Poland, 2½ millions from Czechoslovakia, and half a million from Hungary.

In the case of Poland the final figure might be ten millions.

Lord Jowitt said that as far as Czechoslovakia and Hungary were concerned there was hope of good co-operation with the Allied Control. "In Poland," he added, "We have not so far been able to observe the process of the transfers from that end, and it seems unlikely that we shall be

"Whatever difference of opinion there may be about the policy of transfer of populations... the method

ought to be humane."
This was the point pressed by the Bishop of Chichester when he opened

that discussion.

He did not suggest that the Big
Three were themselves conducting expulsions from Poland, Czechoslovakia
or Hungary, but argued that by their part in the Potsdam Agreement they could not free themselves from responsibility.

The Bishop said there was only too

ich

he

ger

vill

ess ect-

s a

only

ancil ay)

good reason for us believing that there is little order or humanity in the method as present. "The Czechs," he said, "have a better way of presenting their story than others." The Times (Jan. 26) reported that 1,209 Sudeten Germans, meetly women and Sudeten Germans, mostly women and children, had began their transfer in cattle trucks "with a liberal allowance of personal belongings." But, he

added, "nothing was heard of compensation for the property they left behind. There is not much humanity in a transfer starting in the dead of winter in cattle trucks, even if those cattle trucks have stoves."

Reading letters from a Viennese Social Democrat and from the International Red Cross, about conditions in internment camps and on the road. the Bishop commented that present treatment of Sudeten Germans was "very much like Hitler's treatment of

The Bishop mentioned estimates amounting to about 14 million as deportable from the three countries.

Our food stocks down

M R. STOKES asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of his recent assurance that all possible food reserves will be released for relief in Europe, and of the statement made on March 21, 1945, that these reserves amounted to 6,000,000 tons, he will now state the total tonnage held in reserve at the outbreak of war and at December 31, 1945, or later suitable

MR. ATTLEE: At the outbreak of war stocks of food in the country, apart from those held by retailers and farmers, amounted approximately to 3 million tons; the comparable figure at December 31, 1945, was 4.2 million tons. During 1945 stocks were reduced by 1,800,000 tons primarily to help European countries.

-Hansard, Feb. 5.

Observer's Commentary

faced men "-these, of course, are not in the least a Russian monopoly—by no means be moved to consider the miseries of the world and act in unity to mitigate them?

Unimaginative ineptitude

SIR BEN SMITH'S sudden announcement that the world food-situation is indeed desperate, and that the British fat ration will have to be cut immediately, and the wartime loaf restored, comes strangely from one who has hitherto pertinaciously declared his intention of not reducing the ration. It is even stranger considered in relation to Mr. Attlee's very recent negative reply to the memorial praying that our food-rations should not be increased until Europe was no longer in danger of

starvation.

If Mr. Attlee had then known that If Mr. Attlee had then known that the British rations would shortly have to be reduced, it is inconceivable that he could have replied in the terms he did. The conclusion is obvious, and amazing. The British Frime Minister and the British Food Minister a month ago were completely ignorant of what the world food-situation really was, and is. Such a revelation is the most serious blow to the prestige of the Labour Govarnthe prestige of the Labour Govern-ment that it has yet received. Sir Ben Smith's inexcusable optim-

ism has misled the housewife and the agriculturist, and wantonly shocked the moral conscience of those who are concerned "to save Europe now." It

140,000,000 MUST GO VERY SHORT IN EUROPE

"...OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS OVER 140,000,000 PEOPLE IN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES REVIEWED WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO LIVE ON A DIET WHICH PROVIDES AN AVERAGE OF LESS THAN 2,000 CALORIES A DAY."

THIS statement is made by the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, which has reviewed the available information about the levels of food consumption in European countries.

The committee has found that-

(a) Approximately 100,000,000 people in the following groups will probably be receiving an average total diet of 1,500 rias per person per day or

(I) The non-farm population of Austria (74 per cent.). The non-farm population in the United States and United Kingdom zones and in Vienna are currently receiving somewhat over 1,500 calories, but most recent information indicates that rations may have to be reduced, thereby bringing the diet of the non-farm population in all zones of Austria under 1,500 calories.

(II) The farm population of tobaccogrowing regions in Bulgaria (9 per cent.).

growing regions in Bulgaria (9 per cent.).

(III) German residents in Czechoslovakia (in so far as they do not qualify for Czechoslovak citizenship) (16 per cent.).

(IV) The non-farm population of Eastern Slovakia (3 per cent.).

(V) The non-farm population of Finland (43 per cent.).

(VI) The non-farm population of Germany (75 per cent.). The non-farm population in the United States and United Kingdom zones, in the USSR zone with certain groups excepted, and in Berlin are currently receiving somewhat ever 1,500 calories, but most recent information indicates that rations may have to be reduced, thereby bringing the diet of the non-farm population in all zones under 1,500 calories.

(VII) The non-farm population of Hungary, especially Budapest (50 per cent.).

cent.).
(VIII) The non-farm population of

(VIII) The non-farm population of Italy (59 per cent.).
(IX) The non-farm population of Rumania (30 per cent.).
(X) The non-farm population of Spain (40 per cent.) may also be in

this category.
(b) A further 40,000,000 people will probably be receiving an average total diet of over 1,500 but fewer than 2,000

1,500 but fewer calories including—

(I) The non-farm population of France (65 per cent.).

(II) The non-farm population of Bohemia and Moravia Slovakia (50 per cent.).

(III) The non-farm population of Greece (47 per cent.).

(IV) The farm and non-farm population of certain districts of Yugoslavia (33 per cent.).

—Manchester Guardian, Feb. 7.

The prospect for Western Germany

In 1936 the agricultural produc-tion of the Western zone of Germany was deficient by 8,300,000 Germany was deficient by 8,300,000 tons of wheat, barley, oats, rye and potatoes which were imported mainly from Eastern Germany. This roughly corresponds to Gen. Eisenhower's report that import requirements for 1945-46 for the Western zone were 4 million tons of bread-grain equivalent, because there were 6 million tons of potatoes imported in 1936 and the calorific value of potatoes is only oneorific value of potatoes is only one-sixth that of grain. It is futile to

Love - and Law

IS there, or is there not, a moral law above the dictates of self interest, the considerations of expediency, and the ordinances of States? That which humanity

is the question on which humanity is utterly divided today.

THE new civilization of the East definitely repudiates the idea: so did the Nazis in Germany. The civilization of the West, which was built upon the belief, or at least shaped by it, is now in doubt concerning the reality of its own spiritual foundations. And even many pacifists, for whose creed there is no hasis save belief in the moral law, seem to imagine that peace is to be had by glozing over the gul that exists between those who believe in the moral law and those who do not.

not.

PEACE is not to be had by one-sided friendliness, but by mutual acknowledgment of law. Beyond and still greater than the law is love. That is between individuals, that its growth in the great world depends on the prior acknowledgment of law. Peace News stands for both—for Law and for Love: for Justice and Friendship: but for neither without the other. Help it all you can!

THE EDITOR.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions to the Peace News Fund since Feb. 1: £21 10s. 4d. Total for 1946: £77 8s. 8u.

suggest that the Western zone can become self-sufficient in food-pro-

THE principal means to cover the food deficiencies must be an exchange of other products against food. These products are industrial

Much attention is at present given to the Ruhr mines, but their importance in the general picture is likely to be overestimated. Of the total industrial production of the Western zone, and are mining represented only coal and ore mining represented only 7½ per cent. in 1936. The factor of primary importance is thus the general industrial production as the chief means of exchange against food

No such figures have been given for the French zone, but they are pro-bably lower than in the British and US zones.

The term "industrial capacity" in the statements quoted above is not a very exact determination. But it conveys beyond doubt the picture of an industrial production so low that it is insufficient to cover even the most primitive needs of the producers and will leave nothing for export. The question is whether this production can be increased sufficiently and in

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

The present industrial breakdown affects directly the majority of the population. In 1939 the distribution

of the occupied population for the Western Zone Was:

(a) Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries ... 13
(b) Industry, Handicraft 50
(c) Trade, Transport, Finance, Public and Private Services ... 37
Even if we estimate employment in

Group (a)—agriculture—as 100 per cent., industrial unemployment resulting from the low production in sulting from the low production in industry must be of staggering dimensions. It can be assumed that this will directly affect Group (c) where conditions are probably not more favourable than in Group (b).

Many persons now find temporary employment in different emergency thacks (carrying away rubble etc.)

tasks (carrying away rubble, etc.). They will, if unemployment figures to prevent further famines. What state has this production reached?

Oct. 16, 1945: Gen. Eisenhower reports that the industrial plants of the US zone were operating at five per cent. of capacity.

Dec. 28: Gen. McNarney, US Military Governor, reports: Industry in the US zone is making slow recovery, output approx. five tem per cent. of normal capacity. (Manchester Guardian.)

Jan. 7, 1946: "On the British side it is January of the British side it is formal capacity." (Manchester Manchester)

Material and the position appear there. It as an excessary to examine the position from the point of view of the general economy of the Western zone. Persons on temporary or make-shift work are clearly not employed to best advantage. If industrial capacity were hampered mainly by lack of labour, it could be supposed that they would find their place when the temporary find their place when the temporary work is finished. However, the US report of Dec. 28 gives as reasons for the low production: shortages of transport, coal and power, without mentioning Labour at all.

There can be no doubt that the figures relating to industrial production and the evident consequence of a mass uemployment which goes much further than Germany has ever known before, indicate an industrial chaos of such extent that it can no longer be remedied by individual efforts. Mere passive granting of permits to re-start factories is insufficient. In that connection the expropriation of the Ruhr mines can

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

has been a bad exhibition of unimaginativeness and ineptitude.

Coal output still lower

MR. SHINWELL'S statement on the coal-situation was almost equally serious, and equally shocking. It amounts to this: that even now that the nationalization of the mines is secure, output continues steadily to decline. Mr. Shinwell, naturally loth to blame the miners, has now been driven to declare that if only the miners would do four full hard days' work a week the situation would be saved. That gives a vivid picture of the social irresponsibility of some of the key-workers in the national economy under a Socialist Govern-ment. If it continues the British ex-periment in democratic Socialism will fail. It is an open scandal before the world that the British miners should be producing so little coal that none available for export, and our own factories are threatened with having to work short time.

The treatment of the miner is in singular contrast to that of the agri-cultural labourer. He puts in a full 5½ days of hard work: yet he has been refused his demand for an increase in wages from £3 10s. to £4 10s. a week, which would be a good deal less than the miner is getting for his 3½ days. Such gross inequity in the treatment of workers in basic industries condemns the whole structure of British Socialism. Unless it gets to work quickly to eradicate its own inward diseases, there will be a nemesisvery soon.

Cap 6. Art 27 - and the veto

MR. VYSHINSKY'S invocation of the veto at a late stage in the (CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Stamford Hill 2262

All correspondence on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

discipline new social

"TT is a paradox of our day that while communication was never speedier nor more extenisve, the simple act of one man of good will helping another was never more involved." That is from an editorial in "Life," deploring the inability of individual Americans to share their plenty with European unfortunates. It is a paradox of which many peacelovers have not even yet grasped the full significance, in spite of the almost complete frustration of their eager efforts to share their own muchless-than-plenty with Europe's starving. of some

The nation-state is devouring us all. Some would say it has already devoured us: and we are merely walking shadows of individual men and women. How can we recapture our reality? Not to speak of entering into its fullness—the condition Karl Marx dreamed of when he spoke of the society in which "the State would wither away."

wither away.' It is a profoundly serious problem which, we notice, is more and more absorbing the attention of our fellowtravellers in France and abroad. It lurks, perhaps unconsciously, behind Mr. Shinwell's recent appeal for discipline among the miners. He lately set them free from all penalties for absenteeism. Absenteeism increased; production suffered a further catastrophic drop. In other words, the more the miner is set free from the compulsion of poverty or punishment, the less he does for the common weal. Not that the miners are different from any other class of workers. This is the prevailing social morality

But such a Socialism is ultimately unworkable. It means a State on which everybody leans, and which nobody supports, and it must collapse. Or it must impose discipline—and

then we are in the servile State: which now is called totalitarian.

The only way out is by a voluntary social discipline. But a people which is capable of a voluntary social discipline is, by the very fact, capable of largely dispensing with the modern

That is the ethical problem of our whole Western civilization today.

And hardly anybody will face it
honestly. The Tories will not. They
strive to retain the social discipline of poverty-the incentive of struggling to keep out of the gutter and the workhouse. The Socialists will not face it. They are merely bent on abolishing the old incentive, without thinking whether there is anything to put in its place. Meanwhile the State grows, while the creative labour which is needed to maintain it dwindles.

The Pacifists should face it, but they do not. They confine their assertion of the reality of the individual to a refusal to fight. But the modern State simply gives them something else to do, treats them as green tiddleywinks instead of blue, and gets on with the game of flipping them on with the game of flipping them where it wants them to be.

But a society of peace must be a society which has overcome the need of compulsion in itself: a society with social discipline, neither imposed by poverty, nor by hope of gain, nor by the State. Unless pacifists are actively engaged in helping the State to wither away: in replacing the nexus of the State by the nexus of voluntary co-operation, they will find themselves in a society in which the individual is more completely absorbed by the State than he is today.

Vaguely, the pacifist feels that it is his mission to resist deindividualizawhile rejecting individualism. But from that vague feeling he finds

WORDS OF PEACE - No. 161

If we can count on decency from others we ought to be decent to them; we should extend goodwill to those from whom we have received or can expect it-so runs our ordinary morality. Far past that went Jesus thinking. Be decent, he said, whether others are decent or not. Exercise goodwill whether they do or not. Never let your rightness depend upon another's conduct. Do not become Nazis because you confront them, your standards of conduct at the mercy of others' ill behaviour. Keep your own criteria of character intact and independent. Love even when and independent. Love even whated, bless even when cursed. That ethic of Jesus was expressly meant for this tough, cruel world, where goodwill and fair play from others are often not to be counted on and where, if because of that we justify our own ill will and inhumanity, there is no hope. For then mankind will go on, evil always met by evil, hatred met by hatred, violence arousing violence, injustice calling out injustice. From that vicious circle the only escape lies in those who break through it and refuse to surrender their own criteria of conduct to the standards of their enemies.

-Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Life. December 24.

IS THIS YOU?

Have you sent your cheque or postal order to the COBSRA Food Relief Fund yet? Several readers ask for the

COBSRA address to be repeated. Here it is again-there is no

further excuse: COBSRA, 75 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

it terribly hard to move towards any responsible social action which will re-assert individuality and overcome individualism. The revolution of individualism. peace—even in the pacifist movement seems as remote as ever. But the clue to it is a new social discipline voluntarily asserted through understanding and free-will. How many pacifists have even made the experiment? And of them how many have survived it?

M.P.s and the Loan

Mr. Whitten complained of the Duke of Bedford's eneering. "The trials of a Social Credit evangelist" is very near to "Go up thou baldhead." Mr. Whitten seems so engrossed in putting the Duke, as a person, right that he rides over the principles for which the Duke stands. Tory and Labour MPs are "the villains" inasmuch as Tories fanatically believe that if private enterprise financial power, and the dealing in money as amerchandise had perfect freedom, all would he well; while Labour as fanatically believes that if only the horrid Capitalist was eliminated and every function nationalised, Heaven would have descended. Alas! Pacifists as Pacifists seem just as blind to the root causes of War; and this gravely dangerous myopia is making them stumble along the wrong path, wasting most precious time.

wasting most precious time.

The conclusion of those who have earnestly and painstakingly studied the cause of War is that it is the diabolic machinery for the securing of markets. (Excepting the Duke of Bedford, I do not know that any Pacifist has been of these students.) It is painfully clear that Mr. Whitten has not studied essentials; and it is indeed cowardly, in Tory, or Labour, or Pacifist, to croon over bottles of medicine when a surgical operation is what is required. Nationalising the People's credit will not in itself bring Heaven down, but it will give us time to live, and to find the way. It suits High Finance excellently to keep our minds off the Truth, engrossed in scrambling for a mere existence.

JOHN WM. RATTRAY.

Barnhill, Dundee.

Barnhill, Dundee.

The "arrogance" of the Duke of Bedford is emphasised by his statement that his views on monetary reform have "never (been met) with a single weighty and reasoned argument."

The Duke is attached to a tiny group of monetary reformers who are neither weightier nor more numerous than are those in another sphere, who believe the earth to be flat. Even that little group is very much divided against itself.

that little group is very much divided against itself.

Just as astronomers present their reasons for disbelieving the contentions of the flatearthers, so economists, from Lord Keynes downwards, in books, pamphlets and lecturea, have given at considerable length their reasons for holding that the views of the Duke of Bedford, and those associated with him in this matter, are founded on ignorance and error. Moreover, to the informed layman in this subject, they are probably right and the advocates of this particular reform mistaken. That is why, although interest in economics is now so widespread, there are to-day fewer adherents to this particular brand of reform than ever since shortly after the movement was started by Major Douglas in 1919.

The Duke of Bedford is, of course, entitled to say that no argument ever convinces him that he is wrong; but it is intellectual zrrogance of the worst kind to assert that those who have examined and rejected his particular ideas have done so without producing "a single weighty and reasoned argument." They have produced scores.

J. A FRANKLIN

weighty and reasoned argument." They haproduced scores.

J. A. FRANKLIN. A.6. San Remo Towers,

Sea Road Puscombe Bournemouth, Hants.

The Unknown Warrior

by R. H. Ward

TWO plays which would not have bleen written but for the war of 1914-18, M. Paul Raynal's "The Unknown Warrior"* and Mr. R. C. Sherriff's "Journey's End," afford an interesting comparison. "War-plays," written about the same war, they appear at first glance to have a certain similarity. But beyond this first glance the similarity fails. "Journey's End" similarity fails. "Journey's End is brilliant reporting, an exact and photographic record of life in the trenches. "The Unknown Wartrenches. "The Unknown War-rior" is the imaginative product of a creative artist. Few would say of it, as was said of "Journey's End," "How like the real thing"; but many would say of it, "This is the truth."

PURTHER, "The Unknown Warrior" is not about the trenches, though their existence is seldom forgotten throughout its action. The play is set in the home of a young Frenchman who has gone to the wars leaving behind him his ageing father and his fiancée. He now returns on leave to discover the difference which war has set between his old self and his new, his home and the trenches. At once the scope of "Journey's End" is widened: here we see the home-front as well as the battle-front, and not only war, but also lovers in war-time, the struggle between generation and generation, and between belief and unbelief in God. The play deals with the emotions. set against a background of war, of only three ordinary human persons; but it recollects them in tranquillity and raises them to the plane of poetry, where they trouble and illuminate, not only our minds and hearts, but our souls, and take on a universal significance.

Other interesting points emerge from this comparison, and not the least is the difference of the effect of these two plays upon their audiences. "Journey's End" saddens and horrifies; "The Unknown ences. "Journey's End" saddens and horrifies; "The Unknown Warrior," far more poignantly tragic, exalts those who watch it. Again, one of these plays was an immense popular success, while the other, recognised by discerning critics all over Europe as one of the few great plays of our century,

has never yet pleased the crowd. Yet the successful "Journey's End" is already a memory; it belonged to a moment of time and that moment is already past, so that, in the midst of the war of 1939-45, this play seemed to have no meaning, no human urgency. "The Unknown human urgency. "The Unknown Warrior," on the other hand, seems more real now than at the time it was written; it is beginning to take on the mysterious and timeless life of a classic. One day, perhaps, when "Journey's End" is no longer remembered, "The Unknown Warrior" will be played in the theatres of the world—such is time's ironical habit of laying bare the true worth and durability of things.

A NOTHER Frenchman, Stendhal, defined the artist's task as voir clair dans ce qui est. Just as Euri-pides, in "The Trojan Women," asks what war is when you look at it as it is, so M. Raynal has asked the same question in "The Unknown Warrior"; and their answers are terms, and patent for all who see their plays to understand. Be-cause he is an artist, M. Raynal has seen war with the eye of vision rather than the eye of nature, and expressed what he has seen in the speech of art rather than the speech of nature; the result is the difference between fact and truth.

or this reason I believe that the life of "The Unknown Warrior" in men's consciousness is only just beginning and for this reason, too, I believe that the play must be seen and allowed to make its mark upon the souls of men; for those who have seen it, even if they should ever fight again, will not fight again in ignorance of what they do, and what war does, to other human persons.

*Richard Ward, writer of this article, is playing the main part in the Adelphi Players' current production of "The Unknown Warrio;" advertised on page 4.

"Those God ideas"

■ DOUBT if Winifred Rawlins goes far enough into this question. It is quite unthinkable that a good God can create evil or the potentiality of This is not an eristic argument. You have got to let the full force of your imagination play on the subject to realise how terrible the supposition is. One tended to push the question aside, however, by saying that a finite world must have some evil and that a finite world exists.

The events of the last six years, however, have come near to showing evil to be not the accident of a finite world but its main driving force. Millions of human beings treating other millions of numan beings treating other millions as vermin, murdering, torturing, starving, slandering and hating them in a mad fury, for no sufficient moral reason—a callous, murderous, selfrighteous, scientific, cynical civilization—this is the end of the vision of Faust. Qualitatively the problem of evil is always the same, but quantitatively it does shake us up.

does shake us up.

All the familiar arguments are vain. Winifred Rawlins says Love can't use coercion. But the act of creation is a form of coercion to start with, and has resulted in a bad creation. Then there is the old argument about God giving us free will to test us. You have only got to imagine what God might have done and you shudder at this petty school-master explanation. One can only follow one's own inner light remorselessly, to contribute one's all to the vague positive purpose of the universe if there should be one, hoping for nothing, asking for nothing, but working out what purification is possible.

D. G. WILLIAMS.

D. G. WILLIAMS. 299 Stroud Road, Gloucester.

Basic freedoms

I find Maurice Cranston's three articles rather puzzling. On the one hand he concedes so much of the case he attacks that there is

HOUSMAN'S YOUR BOOKSHOP

THE LOST WEEK-END Charles Jackson, 8s. 6d.

ORION A Miscellany ANIMAL FARM George Orwell, 6s. THE MAN BORN TO BE KING Dorothy Sayers, 10s. 6d

124 SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.I.

little left to defend. On the other hand he so completely misunderstands the position of those he criticizes—at least I think I can speak for a considerable number—that the little that is left to be defended is of profound importance.

I have never said, and do not claim that "you cannot do any good by politics." What I do say is that in the highly industrialized, highly centralized States of our time, politics cannot escape the inevitability of constructing a slave society, and thus that the right action for pacifists is to aim at political and economic decentralization and the establishment of a vital community life in the villages, building up a new economic and political order on the foundation of a wide measure of local autonomy.

As this aim runs counter to all the current political aims and trends, the only way to set about achieving it is by individuals and groups starting to rebuild the social order in tiny segments here and now. Maurice Cranston's Aldous Huxley-yogi bogey would appear to have led him on a false scent.

The argument that political liberty and economic security are a necessary background for further political development is plausible, but MC himself destroys it when he admits

LETTERS

"that the economic situation of the country becomes less favourable to liberty." That unassailable observation completely knocks the bottom out of his case. From now on, every step taken in the direction of increased industrial specialization (the aim being to capture markets), necessitates a further degree of economic and political concentration, which MC confessedly fears. Every such step will in fact destroy a little more of the right of the human person to creative, responsible labour, which is the soul and foundation of all human liberty. Once destroy that liberty, and political liberty ceases to have validity. Thereafter, as I have previously argued, the vote becomes a fiction. Today the Labour Party is destroying that liberty bit by bit. In the nature of things it cannot help doing so, after having accepted 100 per cent. industrial specialisation. A vast scheme of social insurance becomes a sine qua non of the servile State. I am all for economic security, including a simple, sane insurance scheme, but not at the price of basic spiritual liberty. The primary freedoms of today are: Freedom to vote, freedom from want, freedom to spend money, and the price we pay for them is the freedom to exercise and use our greatest gifts and finest qualities, our creative powers in self-chosen, responsible labour. For a mess of pottage we are asked to sell our birthright, and accept the organization and the compensations of the beehive. At any rate Maurice Cranston is consistent, for having swallowed the camel of unlimited industrial specialization, he does not turn at the gnats of nationalization and such like threats to liberty, although he swallows them with a rather wry face. I am sure he would be much more comfortable and happy if he parted with the came!

WILFRED WELLOCK.

12 Victoria Avenue, Quinton, Birmingham, 32.

PPU

TH

surer few 1 be ab leisur mainl the U Writ

there is for the this oc retrence slight. has be be made For budget with a year.
Accourable take is to be this

NEV ANO the I Fu Secre Ends Sheppa restrict be spe with Action, £200 against

Incom tions at this tot in one pated, pounds satisfa continu particu small £1,025 the bu The at £4 that control they wif they which

Only be ava cuts v weeks The ap but it is real the re will be

CI PL LAT TEI word, payme Maxim for B Blacks

When a words. Disp size 3 post F

ONI rms. don r workir assista UNI man a Box 28 SING brd. a of Ba Cttges. Kent.

TO EAS housep Bacton 18-29. LOV days Breakf bridge, Teleph

GUE ook y

DAY OF **RECKONING**

THE audit of the Union's accounts for the year 1945 has now been completed, and printed copies of the statement together with the Treasurers' Report will be sent out in a few weeks' time. Members will then be able to study the details at their leisure, and so this column is devoted mainly to pointing out the significance of the principal figures in relation to the Union's needs for 1946.

Writing in August, when the first half-year's accounts were before me I said "unless there is an increase in our income our deficit for the year will be about £1,500... If this occurs there will be one inevitable result: retrenchment." The improvement was very right. The actual deficit is £1,284, and, as has been announced, drastic cuts have had to be made in every branch of the PPU's work.

For 1946 National Council has reduced budgeted expenditure to £5,000 as compared with a figure of well over £6,000 for last year, (Total expenditure shewn in the Accounts is £6,525 but from this there must be taken out the Bookshop expenses, as this is to be run separately as from the beginning of this year.) The cost of running Dick Accounts

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Sheppard House (£322) remains about the same, but Administration Expenses have been restricted, mainly by reducing the amount to be spent on salaries, to £3,950 as compared with £5,063 actually paid in 1945. Public Action, Service and Youth work go down to £200 and Area Development to £400 as against £278 and £460 respectively.

against £278 and £460 respectively.

Income last year from subscriptions, donations and collections amounted to £4,302. Of this total the Autumn Appeal (£1,101) brought in one hundred pounds more than was anticipated, and Headquarters Fund (£552) fifty pounds less. Both these results were very satisfactory, but most disappointing was the continued decline in regular subscriptions—particularly from those members who send small amounts. Direct contributions totalled £1,025, those through Areas came to £1,624; the budget had been based on receipts from these sources of £1,600 and £2,000.

The estimated Income in 1946 has been put

The estimated Income in 1946 has been put at £4,500 This means firstly, that it is hoped that contributions will be £200 more than they were last year, and secondly, that even if they are there will be a deficit of £500 which will have to be met from reserves.

Only by greatly increased giving can money be available for the restoration of some of the cuts which have been made. The first few weeks of the new year have been encouraging. The apparent improvement may be accidental, but it may be continued. If the membership is really conscious of the desperate need for active peacemaking in the world today, and the relevance of pacifism to the situation, it will be the beginning of a sharp upward sweep on our income graph.

T. RENDALL DAVIES

YOUR JOURNEY IS REALLY NECESSARY

I WISH that I could impress upon every member of the PPU who is able to travel to London the value of their attendance at our AGM on April 27-28.

We are one of the largest pacifist organizations in the world. We shall meet for our ninth AGM at a time that is critical not only for the Union but for the future peace of the world.

Everyone who can be present should be there. Application for tickets for individual members (1/-) should be sent to Head Office by March 5.

At any rate I hope that every member will vote in the Council election. Between AGMs responsibility for Union policy and activities is entrusted to Council. It is important that people should be chosen for their wisdom as well as for their enthusiasm. Members attached to a group will receive voting papers from their group secretary. Members attached to the council of the council o from their group secretary. Members not attached to a group should ask their area Returning Officer to send them a paper, application to be made by March 1.

This year, too, the election of the National Chairman, since Dr. Alex Wood is not again standing for election, will be of considerable importance.

* *
Nominations for Chairman, Treasurer and
Council should reach Dick Sheppard House by
March 5 as well as application for voting March 5 as well as application for voting papers from Areas and Group Secretaries. Completed voting papers must be returned by April 12.

Area Returning Officers

IRELAND: Tom Finnegan, 6 College Avenue, Londonderry.

SCOTLAND: Miss Mary Anderson, 11 Hernand Terrace, Edinburgh, 11.

LAKELAND: Frank Kerr, 7 Thorny Hills,

Kendal, Westmorland.

NORTH EASTERN: David R. Hughes, Waskerley House, Upper Town, Wolsingham, Co. Durham.

NORTH WESTERN: Herbert Lomax, PPU,

NORTH WESTERN: Herbert Lomax, PPU, 41 John Dalton Street, Manchester, 2.
YORKSHIRE: James Le Noury, 4 The Grove, Poolsbrook, Chesterfield.
WALES: Rev. D. R. Thomas, 21 West Grove, Merthyr Tydfil, Glam.
WEST MIDLANDS: Miss C. Jones, 35 Hampton Road, Birmingham, 6.
EAST MIDLANDS: John Willmot, 7 Wallis Angure, Lingaln.

EAST MIDLANDS: John Willmot, 7 Walling Avenue, Lincoln.

EAST ANGLIA: Frank Sayer, 170 Wostbourne Terrace, London, W.2.

SOUTH MIDLANDS: Arthur Bayntun, 9 Bedford Street, Woburn, Bletchley, Bucke.

WESTERN: Ronald H. Plaister, 8a Wharn-cliffe Close, Wells Road, Bristol, 4.

BUCKS, BERKS & OXON: Douglas Owen, 13 Shepherds Lane, Caversham, Reading.

LONDON: Miss Nellie Harby, 74 Ingleton Road, London, N.18.

CORNWALL & DEVON: Mary Cooper, 57 Hollow Lane, Hillbarton Road, Exeter.

SOUTHERN: Alan C. Twort, 15 Glenway, Bognor Regis, Sussex.

SOUTH EASTERN: Reginald Brown, 278

Bognor Regis, Sussex.
SOUTH EASTERN: Reginald Brown, 278
High Street, Rochester, Kent.

ANDRE PHILIP: THE MAN OF RESERVES

THE responsibility on André Philip is immense. The Socialists hold the equilibrium between MRP, to the right of them, and on the other side the Communists. André Philip with his long years of experience as Socialist Deputy, as Mayor of Lyon, and as Protestant holds the equilibrium between the various sorts of rium between the various sorts of Socialists. It was fascinating to hear him answering Henri Roser's queries, giving him the sort of advice he needs in order to discharge the big job which the Church has laid upon him. A. P. is the sort of person the word "brilliant" as applied to a human being was first coined for, I should His answers are somewhat rapped out of him; they come like pistol shots; humcur is never far off; his reserve strength must be colos-

The old Prefectural System was probably to be radically changed: the local people were to have more authority: the Ministry of the In-terior's job would thus be as important perhaps but far less autocratic. André Philip expects that this change will definitely be accepted.

-Muriel Lester, who met Andre Philip, new Minister of National Economy, in the course of her recent visit to Europe.

Sir Ben passes by

MRS. AYRTON GOULD asked the Minister of Food how much oatmeal there is in Denmark ready for export which is not required in this country; and whether he will consider buying this to feed the European

SIR. B. SMITH: I am not aware that any oatmeal is available for export from Denmark. The second part of the question, therefore, does not

MRS. GOULD: Is he aware that there was a quantity of oat-meal not required by this country which Denmark was prepared to export, and could it be obtained either for this

country or for Europe?
SIR B. SMITH: I understand that some 65,000 tons are being milled in Denmark. Should there be any appreciable quantity of oatmeal available for export, the liberated countries of Europe will be free to buy it without intervention. (Our italics.)

-Commons. Feb. 6, 1946.

American Labour opposes conscription

THE CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) testified against conscription to the Military Affairs Committee and Congress in Washing-

Speaking "for six million members " Nathan Cowan said:

bers." Nathan Cowan said:

"... We believe that the energies of all Americans, through their government, should be concentrated on the solution of the economic and social problems which produce war and not on the development and acceptance of a policy of militarization...

"... We believe in an international police force, not in a system where each nation through its armed might enforces its own law. We believe peace-time military training by the United States concerns all of the nations of the world and all of the peoples of the world. It seems to us that such action at

The lights are . . .

RECENTLY as part of a "guinca pig" experiment at Welfare Island, NYC, some CPS men swallowed a substance which would give good "interior lighting" and reveal things on an X-ray plate. When the plates were developed, it was discovered that the Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, etc., glowed with exactly the same inner light as

exactly the same inner light as did the Quakers!

The Conscientious Objector,

this time by the United States would be equivalent to shouting from the house-tops.

'We do not believe it is possible to create a world free from war. So watch out for us.

'Instead of unilateral action on our part, all of the nations should plan for disarmament

and for the reations should plan for disamandary and for the creation of an international, not a national, police force. We cannot have both collective security and overwhelming national armaments. We cannot bargain for peace with atom-bombs."

IN THE PENALTY AREA

SHOULD there be "fraternization in sport" with the Germans? This question "has exercised the minds of Cabinet Ministers and Army commanders," writes Bob Crisp in the Daily Express. And they are "against playing any games with or against Germans.

against Germans.

"It is interesting to discover what the people think who are actually playing in such general the ordinary soldiers and sailors and aircraftmen in the British Army of the Rhine.

Troops' newspaper The Conqueror, published in Osnabrack, has held a poll among personnel of 54 Reinforcements Holding Unit, handling large numbers of troops entering and leaving the Rhineland.

With the exception of one company the total vote shows a percentage of more than 80 in favour of fraternization, with no noticeable difference between permanents and reinforcements."

With regard to the objection "that it is not good for German crowds to

it is not good for German crowds to see British teams beaten by German teams," Bob Crisp comments: "we might be a bit 'bigger' than that."

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Ltd.).

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Haximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

TO FELLOW C.O.s. quiet holiday, and food, poultry farm, 35 miles, and on. Reasonable terms. Box 284.

LOVELY COTSWOLD valley.
Quiet Guest Hse. offers peaceful holidays in beautiful surroundings.
Breakfast in bed. Finlayson, "Steanbridge," Slad, Nr. Stroud, Glos.
Telephone: Painswick "312.

RUSHMERE GUEST Hse. Selsey, 200 yds. from sea, comfortable homely, terms mod., early booking avoid disappointment. Brochure Victor Smith (Manager Stephen Stoner & Co.,

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for bappy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow. The Briars, Crich, Mattock (Station: Ambergate: Tel Ambergate 44):

size 3 column inches. Copy by first past Friday.

We reserve the right to held over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING AND WRITING classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews. B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London. PRImrose 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED

CHARMING HSE., 3 bed., 2 rec., arage. Biodynamically cultivated furth, fruit, nuts, veg., flowers. Exhange for modernized citige, gdn., ash adjustment. Clarke, "Stan
Greedoms!"

CAMBRIDGE DIST. Wanted urgently active houseman. Good home and salary. Lad not objected to distance distance of the dis

CHARMING HSE.. 3 bed., 2 rec., garage. Biodynamically cultivated gdn. fruit, nuts. veg., flowers. Extense working. Wife prepared to give assistance. Telephone: CUN. 3663.

UNFURN. FLAT requd. in London area, small or large, by professional man and wife, both working. Write Box 286.

SINGLE C.O. (Methodist) seeks brd. and lodgings within 30 mins. of Baker St.. N.W. Hall, 4 Days Cttges., Station Rd., Dunton Green, Kent.

TRAILER CARAVAN wanted, also 350 c.c. motor-cycle. Known makes. BM/DLND, W.C.1.

good food, poultry farm, 35 miles London. Reasonable terms. Box 284.

EASTER—YOUTHFUL, informal, houseparty at Freemount School. Bacton Manor, Herefordshire, April 18-29. Parties, from school.

LOVELY COTSWOLD valley. Quiet Guest Hse, offers peaceful holi-

LITERATURE, &c.

Breakfast in bed. Finlayson, "Steanbridge," Slad, Nr. Stroud, Gloss Telephone: Painswick "312.

GUESTS TAKEN from Jan. on-wards. 50s. wkly., weekends. 20s., Book your holiday now at: High Hse., Bromsash, Ross-on-Wye.

"THE NEW Instrument of Government." A Commentary on the United Nations' Charter, by Karlin Capper-Johnson, price 9d. (1d. post), is now mittee, Friends Hse., Euston Road, N.W.1.

QUAKBRISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends' House, Euston Rd. London

PLYMOUTH. SPKR. at Swarth ass more Settlement, 6 p.m., Feb. 16, Rev. ter Le Messurier. Subject: "The Four 285. Greedoms!"

PERSONAL.

THE BLACKFRIARS Players are producing "A Hundred Years Old" in Apr. and "Macbeth" in July. Organizations interested a performance should contact R. McReynolds, 19 Calder Gdns., Edgware, Middx.

FATHER WILL teach, look after backward and/or problem child(ren). Experienced. Live anywhere. Box 282.

GENTLEMAN, EARLY thirties in College, Selly Oak, Birmingham, interestived available.

GENTLEMAN, EARLY thirties, international outlook, much travelled and speaking Greek and Arabic, welcomes friendship with lady similar interests. Box 288.

CONTACT CLUB. Congenial pen friendships for all. Partics., stp., Sec., P.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdns., Rumney, Cardiff.

FATHER WILL teach, look after backward and/or problem child(ren).

FRIENDSHIPS CONFIDENTIALLY

formed. For parties, write 55 Lyn-wood Drive, Romford.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 84 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends.

January.

SITUATIONS VACANT

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends' House, Euston Rd. London

MEETINGS. &c.

STUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

W.C.I., which will often be able to give useful advice.

SCHOOL FOR 4 children (5 yrs.)

FEB. 22. Irene Barclay, "Freedom and Planning," 7.30, Central London Group, 8 Endsleigh Gdns.

FLYMOUTH. SPKR, at Swarth-more Settlement, 6 p.m., Feb. 16, Rev. Le Messurier. Subject: "The Four Le Messurier. Subject: "The Four State of the Religious Society of the Religious Society of Committee and Conditions of employment Sect., C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.I.

C.O. 22, landwork cndtn., three community, seeks job. Box 259.

WOMAN WITH 2-yr.-old boy requires housekeeper's post. Widower with child (5 yrs.) of the community of the

FATHER WILL teach, look after backward and/or problem child(ren). Experienced. Box 282.

C.O. (19) wants clerical or other work for Social Work or Relief Agency. Edinburgh, Glasgow or London. Experience Jumior Club work. Secondary school education. Begin April. Box 283.

Hil' W.21. Palmers Green 7868.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders bks.; attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. Paythcial clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

ECONOMICS, ETC., discussed in "Man the Madman," 2s. 3d. BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1.

FREEMASONRY EXPOSED by Rev. Hunt, B.A. 100-page bk., extracts from masonic literature; 2s. 8d. Sec., Book Club, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden.

YOU WILL find true Friendship in the L. and H. C. C. Club. Partics. Friendship in the L. and H. C. C. Club. Partics. From Sec., 39 Reighton Rd., London, dist. Suggestions please to LADY (37) (Widow with son aged 7) would welcome friendship gentles.

LADY (37) (Widow with son aged 7) would welcome friendship in manufacturing agricultural machington dist. Suggestions please to LADY (37) (Widow with son aged 7) would welcome friendship in manufacturing agricultural machington dist. Suggestions please to LADY (37) (Widow with son aged 7) would welcome friendship in manufacturing agricultural machington dist. Suggestions please to LADY (37) (Widow with son aged 7) would welcome friendship in manufacturing agricultural machington dist. Suggestions please to LADY (37) (Widow with son aged 7) would welcome friendship in manufacturing agricultural machington dist. Suggestions please to LADY (37) (Widow with son aged 7) would welcome friendship gentles.

Sec., Book Club, 21 Poplar with firm manufacturing agricultural machington dist. Suggestions please to LADY (37) (Widow with son aged 7) would welcome friendship gentles.

C.O. WITH long experience in gents' outfitting and tailoring seeks situation within daily travelling distance of Bromley Kent. Suggestions please to Employment Sect., C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Hse. in country. Mostly housework. Must be energetic, cheerful. State age, wages requd. Box 281.

INTERIOR DECORATOR now able to proceed with private or commercial work, estimates free. London or Greater London area. Box 290.

GOOD PRINTING of every descrip-tion. Send stamp for quotation and samples. 70 Brackley Sq., Joodford Green, Essex.

MISCELLANEOUS

NATURE CURE-Psychological & NATURE CURE—Psychological & Drugless Treatment of Disease by Reginald Bailey, Psychiatriat, Nerve-Specialist and Bates Practitioner (eyesight corrected by natural methods); Daisy E. Bailey, Specialist in Women's ailments and Children's complaints; Reg. J. Bailey, Osteopath, Naturopath. Consultation by appt 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hil' W.21. Palmers Green 7868.

What is Russia's motive?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

dispute concerning Greece which the USSR has itself placed on the agenda of UNO was baffling to those who had not the fine points of the Charter at their fingers' ends. The explanation is this.

The veto is applicable to the dis-cussion of all matters arising in the Security Council except those which are (1) matters of "procedure" and (2) matters arising under Cap. 6 of the Charter, which deals with the peaceful settlement of disputes. Under Cap. 6, art. 27, parties to a dispute which is to be peacefully settled must abstain from voting and cannot exercise a veto.

When the Russians brought the Greek affair before the Security Council, they did so under Cap. 6, art. 35, seeking peaceful settlement. Therefore the veto did not apply. When Mr. Makin, as Chairman of the Security Council group his opinion Security Council, gave his opinion that it was not a dispute that endangered the peace of other countries, but one, on Mr. Vyshinsky's own showing, of internal disorder which concerned Greece alone, Mr. Vyshinsky jumped to the conclusion that it was no longer a dispute within the meaning of Cap. 6. But it was stillobviously—a matter of substance. Therefore the veto did apply. Q.E.D.

Truculence not persuasion

MR. VYSHINSKY is known as a smart and tough lawyer. He it was who first formulated (at his first post-war visit to Roumania) the new doctrine that all anti-Fascists were, necessarily, democrats. He also is the Public Prosecutor who denounced the aged Bukharin—the most eminent of the old Bolsheviks—as "the block-headed son of a pig." But to be a master of totalitarian truculence and to be able to convince an assembly of statesmen are different things. His behaviour over the Greek "dispute" was sharp practice of a kind that the framers of the Charter never con-templated. Though legally it was just defensible, the plain fact remains that he tried to veto the Security Council from passing its verdict on a Council from passing its verdict on a matter which he had himself placed on the agenda. If he acted in good faith in so doing, he was not acting in good faith in invoking the veto.

"What Mr. Vyshinsky's claim amounted to was that Russia was entitled to bring a railing accusation against another State, and then, when she had failed to prove her case, to employ the veto to forbid acquittal." (Sunday Times, Feb. 10.)

Was it really worth while to bring Russian good faith thus publicly into disrepute, for the sake of trying to embarrass Britain? It may be, as

embarrass Britain? It may be, as the Russian rulers seem to believe, that we are in a period of history in which the imponderables have ceased to count. But if Mr. Vyshinsky's technique is employed much more, UNO will be regarded by everybody as itself a danger to peace.

The super-sensitive power

WHAT the whole affair of Persia and Greece and Indonesia has revealed is that Russia is urging an open diplomatic war against Great Britain. "No one" said Mr. Molo-tov, in his election speech. "can accuse Russia of intrigues." Mr. Bevin could and did, and he inflicted on the Russians a serious "loss of

I do not agree with those who now

CATARRH

THIS commonest of all disease conditions amongst civilised peoples, greatly impairs mental efficiency, lowers resistance to infection, and generally debilitates its innumerable victims. The true remedy is to de-toxicate the system, restore the clean bloodstream of youth, and then reform the diet and other habits of living.

Garlic—a prescription with 5000 years of history—is a most powerful disinfecting agent; and greatly helps in neutralising and liquifying catarrh.

Send stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets about Garlic in its modern deodorised forms which impart no taint whatever to the breath or person.

Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex

criticise him for having gone too far, in making his general indictment of Russian diplomacy. The New Statesman (Feb. 9) emphasises "the necessity of suavity in dealing with a great and super-sensitive power." When super-sensitiveness is so one-sided what is to be done? Mr. Bevin's critics have been able to put forward only one positive suggestion for the improvement of Russo-British relations. The Polish army under Gen. Anders that is in Italy is avowedly anti-Russian. It is maintained by British money and ought to be disbanded.

Socialist monopoly

ONE cannot escape the conclusion that the principal aim of Russian policy is to embarrass and discredit Britain. What can be the reason of it? I guess it is epitomised in Mr. Bevin. Mr. Bevin is more representative of the industrial working-class than Mr. Vyshinsky, Mr. Molotov or even Mr. Stalin. That fact is significant. The Labour Government in Britain and the govern-ment of the USSR represent two antithetical conceptions of Socialism. If the USSR is to preserve its reputa-tion as the one Socialist country in tion as the one Socialist country in the world—an asset of immense value in forwarding the foreign policy of USSR, through the various Communist parties—then it is imperative that the Labour Government in Britain should be presented to the world as non-Socialist—as the supporter of Fascism (in Greece) and Imperialism (in Indonesia).

This seems to me a much more pro-This seems to me a much more probable explanation of recent Russian behaviour than that which bases it on a supposed Russian belief that Britain instigated Persia to put her case before the Security Council: for it was a fairly open secret that Britain was definitely opposed to this being done considering it a danger being done, considering it a danger

Ideological enemy No. 1

IF my theory is correct, the omens for Russo-British understanding are not good. Indeed, it follows that they would have been better if Mr. Churchill had remained in power: for had a Tory government still been in office Russia would have had no such reason for trying to embarrass it. But as things are, Britain—having put a Socialist government in power "by peaceful and legal means"—has become ideological enemy No. 1 of USSR, but an ideological enemy which cannot be attacked on ideological logical grounds, nor hamstrung by employing its own Communists against it. (Unless it is they who are behind the go-slow in the coal-

mines.)
This new obstacle to Russo-British understanding is (I think) likely to be very serious indeed. For it is something which a Socialist Britain can do nothing to remove—except by failing disastrously. By encouraging do nothing with the ing disastrously. By ending disastrously, democracy constitutional democracy against Fascism, by working patiently to transform its Imperialism into co-partnership, Britain will not mitigate Russian hostility and suspicion, but only increase it.

One of two conditions, on my hypothesis, will have to be satisfied if Russo-British relations are to be radically improved: one is that the Labour Government's programme of Socialism should come to catastrophe. the other that Russia herself should undergo a change towards internal freedom. Which is the more probable, I leave to my reader.

'Save Europe Now' meetings

"Save Europe Now" are holding a number of provincial meetings in support of the COBSRA food relief

appeal.

Below are particulars of some of the bigger meetings, and the names and addresses of the local conveners, who will welcome offers of heln in making the necessary arrangements: GLASGOW. Feb. 22—John Morrison, Iona Community,
BIRMINGHAM, Mar. J.—Henry Hilditch, 23
Tixhall Rd., Birmingham. 28,
LIVERPOOL. Mar. 15—Charles Ronald, 12
Ashcroft Drive, Heswall.
BRISTOL, Mar. 22—Will Parkin, Fallowfield,
Flax Bourton.

P.N. PAMPHLET ON "THE SOIL"

Harold F. Bing is the author of the February Peace News pamphlet, which will be nublished with PN next week at the usual price of 1d. Entitled "Man and the Soil." it discusses soil conservation and exploitation, and especially the heavy erosion in the newer ferritories opened up to large-scale farming.

The January pamphlet, still on sale, was Sydney Railey's "A Great American Social Problem," a study of the special difficulties of the negro.

for C.O. mental workers

THE United States Office of War Information has been requested by the Swedish government to provide information on activities of the Mental Hygiene Programme of Civilian Public Service.

The Swedish representative explained that his government was interested in standards in mental hospitals and in the training of attendant personnel.

Peace News reprinted recently (Jan. 18) an account of The Attendant, a publication run by CO mental hospital workers, which has now been replaced by a more ambitious paper 'Psychiatric Aid."

Pacifism in Ireland

FIRE is pacifist already" was the typical response made by a wide cross-section of Dubliners who met Patrick Figgis, PPU General Secretary, during his recent week in Ireland. And if this is not strictly true they have nevertheless main tained peaceful relationships in face of considerable provocation, and have an impressive record of international

an impressive record of international servicg.

The Irish Red Cross has sent £275,000 for European and Bengal relief, £40,000 for their own hospital in Southern France, are trying to get German and other children out of the famine areas, and have helped a great number of countries. Over 100 French children have already been received into their homes, 200 Polish children have been offered hospitality, and homes are available for over 300 from Germany.

One of the most encouraging results of Patrick Figgis' visit was the willingness shown by the leading newspaper wholesalers to resume handling Peace News. A considerable number of copies will be distributed all over Northern Ireland, and in Dublin and Co. Cork during the next two months. We hope to gain many new contacts, and will warmly welcome the help of present readers in making the most of this big opportunity.

If you find any shops where sales are slow encourage them by buying an extra copy, and pass it on to someone 'who may be interested. We are hoping for big results in Eire and N. Ireland and invite the comments and criticisms of new readers.

The Prospect for W. Germany (CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

be a hopeful beginning, if it is not merely a negative measure but is followed by a positive constructive

A unified over-all economic plan based on an examination of the existing position and on definite aims for the future development offers, in my opinion, the only possibility for a fundamental improvement and thus for preventing in years to come a repetition of the situation which seems imminent this winter. can be done, except relief measures. for this winter. Unless measures are taken now, it will be too late for next year's winter again.

If such a general plan can be worked out for the whole Western zone, it would be better than to do so merely for the British zone. Failing this, a plan for the British zone alone is infinitely preferable to no plan at

From this analysis and diagnosis it follows that it can only be undertaken by the authorities holding sovereign power, viz., the Occupation authori-ties. No other can give the necessary directives—unless such wide powers are vested immediately in a German administration, which seems unlikely. In practice it will probably mean consultation and co-operation with German authorities, but final decisions by the Occupation authori-Sovereign power and responsibility cannot be separated.

Whether such a plan will succeed is uncertain. Without it, catastrophic developments seem certain. The food deficiency is then likely to lead to famine conditions not only in winter but also during the intermediate summer months. It may become a paragraph of the come a permanent state.

I am aware that the problem is not one of economics only. Unless there is goodwill and the honest attempt to work together no economic planning can succeed. On the other hand goodwill alone can and will be frustrated

if accompanied by starvation.

If vision is brought to the task it need not become a dictate imposed from above. If, under existing conditions, anything can help to develop a feeling of community beyond the national borders, it would be such common work for a positive purpose. It may thus be that the imperative necessity to avert disaster will also be the way which leads out of destruc-tion in the past to a more genuine understanding in the future, based on common work.

International fame Release Bill progress: Minister stands firm

THE Committee Stage of the National Service (Release of Conscientious Objectors) Bill was taken in the Lords on Feb. 5.

Conservative Peers pressed the two points raised by them on the Second Reading and still outstanding. These were (1) that C.O.s should be held back until Navy and Air Force personnel in the same release groups, as well as the Army groups, had been released, and (2) that Mr. Isaacs' assurance that existing labour; controls would not be used to frustrate the Bill would mean striking inequalities between, say, two land workers of the same age working side by side, only one of whom was a C.O.

Despite strong pressure from Viscount
Swinton and Lord Llewellin, the Government
resisted the Amendments which were not put
to the vote, though Lord Llewellin gave notice
that he might "return to the charge at a
later stage."

"HAS the British citizen the right to refuse to serve as a soldier?" This question, reports the January CBCO Bulletin, appeared in the "Quiz" in a British paper published in German in the Occupied Zone. Thus are the virtues of democracy commended to the German popula

people.

The Bulletin also contains an interview with a French CO awaiting trial in Paris, and details of the new Training Fund for COs.

ALARMED! —by current P.P.U. Group Letter?

If you believe the pacifist movement still has a job to do, hear Donald Soper, Alex Wood, Albert Belden, Irene Barclay, Martin Tupper, Donald Port and others.

PACIFISM IN TRANSITION

-at conference (3s. 6d.), March 9/10, Dennison House Hall, London, S.W.1. PHOENIX. 7 NORTHAMPTON PARK LONDON, N.1

FEDERAL UNION MEETING

"WORLD GOVERNMENT—OR . . ?"
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1,
Thursday, February 21, at 7 p.m.
Speakers:
Edward Hulton, Lt.-Col. King, M.P.,
Flt.-Lt. Haire, M.P., Monica Wingate,
Chairman: Lt.-Cmdr. Innes-Hamilton. Tkts. 1s. F.U., 20 Buckingham St., W.C.2

Freedom Defence Committee

Closing date for Amnesty Campaign is Feb. 28. Send in your Amnesty Form now, if you have not already done so. Also apply for BULLETIN of the Committee (price 2d.) with details of work done.

17 St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.1

Please note our only address C. A. BROCK & Co. Ltd. 79 SOUTHERN ROW, LONDON, W.10. For all Printing & Stationery

LINDSEY THEATRE

Palace Gardens Terrace Notting Hill Gate.

February 19th for three weeks only

THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR

By Paul Raynal

A production of the Second Company of

The Adelphi Players

in association with The Arts Council Evenings at 8 p.m. (excluding Monday)

Matinee: Sat. 2.30. Sun. 8 and 3 p.m. (membs.)

Published from 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.

£5, to TOW IN

£100,

RELL

THE £5,000 weeks a Europe of this sums a couragi "Sav despite country

the rest

AFTI la (Friday vincial with na Birm next, M It is meeting MPs, in Birming are spe £5,000 1

The me from 6.30 Cunningh

AFTE in mood times w only too to my Bevin's

cause of

There

and par Britain have fe pacifist pacifist it, I in that dr Great F Assemb nationa lished a respect meaning

True, newness even so Russia moral platter first ma

M ANY Fur in for a t spare for most of u most of u category. We ref, tioned in ber? We £600,000. There wa repaymen will be pi. Frankly the doubt. well conf "Some f our mem per year. It looked a windfall quarter quarter